42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

868 and ordinary work, to which his parents even now introduce him as early as possible,—were those he needed at the time of taking a head or of defending his own: and here again, the best means for acquiring them was practice by imitation or necessity. Even the use of the spear, the headax and the shield was never formally taught: a young man saw his elders at work, and did as they did. After all, a real attack, openly and face to face, has always been rather the exception; to fall unawares on an unsuspecting enemy, to kill a defenceless woman or child, and similar exploits, were usually much more in the line of the Isneg. If nevertheless some of them have been real braves, practice, not formal teaching, has made them such. But nowadays these happy times seem to be gone forever: every Isneg man cultivates his fields in peace and sits undisturbed under his coconut tree, the latter eventuality being usually the more frequent

857 Isneg boys and girls are found of play, this is only natural; but
524 their choice is very limited. Indeed, except for the sport of *bisnág*, most of the time these types of play merely consist in running and wrestling, at least as far as active sports that may serve to develop bodily strength are concerned. A group of Isneg boys, whether inside or outside the house, rarely keep quiet for a long time, and very soon playful fighting, which for the most part consists in slapping and kicking one another, is indulged in. This romping, which the Isneg call by the comprehensive term of *maxaúrdd*, after a time becomes so noisy that other people present cannot hear one another's voices, until some old fellow cries: "*Páxai*" (no special meaning), at which the infernal noise stops on the spot, to begin again, of course, at the first opportunity. Isneg girls, although usually less rough and noisy, are not loath to follow the example of the members of the ruder sex; this is generally, but not always, done among themselves exclusively.

[863] Baths are taken rather frequently by both adults and children:
515 the latter either follow the example of their elders or go to take a splash in the river with their companions. In this case each sex keeps strictly apart almost without exception: indeed an Isneg mother never fails to teach her girls a certain modesty as the best means to prevent regrettable incidents. Baths are always taken in some stream of
[34] running water; ponds of still water besides being very rare in the Isneg country, are usually infested with crocodiles, and no Isneg would think of fetching water from somewhere to take his ablutions at home: his village is always situated near some river or brook, and he would consider it as the acme of absurdity to go to the stream in

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Imeg

postponed for a considerable time. Others again say that *Kútaw* robs it of its garments and dons them himself, to the great dismay and shame of the poor *kadudúwá*, who from now on is obliged to wear either no clothes or at least only such as are not cared for any more by its companions at the other side of the grave. The latter informants usually add that *Kútaw* refuses to ferry this *kadudúwá* over the pond, unless it gives its brand-new clothes to him; some of them say that it may happen that *Kútaw* takes to himself not only the clothes, but also the whole *kadudúwá* (as a kind of servant). One more detail was given me by a Bayag informant: if the dead person has only one of his forearms tattooed (not both of them), *Kútaw* cuts off this tattooed limb and keeps it to himself.

To resume: some informants state that all *kadudúwá* are always ferried over the pond by *Kútaw*, but that those whose *inndt* wears no new clothes, remain like that at least for some time to come, or are left to their own devices as soon as they reach the other side, without being able to find their relatives, at least immediately, while those whose *inndt* wear new clothes without rent are either despoiled by *Kútaw* or kept back for at least a considerable time from the enjoyment that is their due. Other informants state that some *kadudúwá* are simply scorned by *Kútaw* and left on this side of the pond: either those whose *inndt* wear old clothes, or those whose new garments have not been torn. On the other hand, when asked what *kadudúwá* are living in the realm of the dead, even these last informants generally affirm that they all do.

A *labbáń* is a kind of lagoon or pool of stagnant water, of a type found in abundance all along the northern coast of Luzon, between Sanchez Mira and Aparri, and even farther east. At Nagbabalayan there is also a *labbáń*, which consists of a pool of water separated from the Apayaw river by a small elevation of land; at every large rise of the Apayaw river, however, it forms one with the latter. This Nagbabalayan *labbáń* is the regular abode of crocodiles, to whom the Nagbabalayan people offer gifts at every sacrifice. But the name *lablabbáń* belongs exclusively to the pond that separates our abode from that of the dead. Such a reduplication as occurs here usually hints at something similar to what the simple stem implies. Thus *lablabbáń* would mean a *labbáń* that is not an ordinary one, and, considering its place and use, no further proof is needed to convince everybody that it is a very peculiar pool indeed. The following mysterious fact adds to its differentiation from any other *labbáń*:

44: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1941 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

241 Here I shall merely mention those that are of a general nature and liable to attack any kind of plantation.

241 The wild boar (*lamán*) is without doubt the enemy par excellence.
136 The Isneg farmer dreads it more thany any other, and not without reason: it respects absolutely nothing, and its depredations are sometimes very great. Next to it you have the deer (*ugtá*), which devastates rice fields, plantations of sugar cane, and the rest. Both these animals prowl about mostly at night, and this makes them the more dangerous, as darkness is their strong auxiliary, while it leaves the field or garden and its owner almost defenseless. The only thing for the Isneg farmer to do is to be diligent in watching his crops. Now and again he must go and visit (*so-bás*) them, and see if any damage has been wrought by roving animals. Should it happen that a wild boar has attempted to enter or has actually entered his field or garden, he must not fail to go on succeeding evenings to lie in wait (*manákar*) at the place where the animal has left signs of its presence, and kill it or at least badly frighten it at its first appearance.

In the daytime you have the jungle fowl (*ditálon, itálon* or *kasí*), which, although less destructive, may easily bring to nought the work of several days, especially in fields that have been sowed recently or whose plants are still very young.

241 Even domesticated animals sometimes imitate their wild forbears:
231 the hog (*ábuy*) and the barnyard fowl (*aná-*) have to be watched almost as carefully as those just mentioned.

241 Add to these the rats, which are often a pest that should be exter-
189 minated at any price.

More subtle enemies, however, are the *arrád*, a kind of green caterpillar that devour the leaves of young plants. The best and easiest way to get rid of them is to place a *lattón* in the infected field. This *lattón* is a little jar filled with an assortment of small herbs and covered with a red cloth: it causes the *arrád* to decamp at once and to look for safer quarters.

189 Besides these well-known enemies, the fields have a good many others that are not so easily detected. These are your own neighbors who feel jealous of your prosperity, and consequently practise all kinds of incantations in order to destroy (*sagsaggán*, "to impede the growth") [17] the young plants of your field or garden. These malevolent persons are said to *manaddl* (to destroy with the use of herbs, etc.). Paddy affected thereby becomes yellow and dies.

[17] The same term also means "to make a girl pregnant".